1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these [584] it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, [616] however, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

524 323 532 a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

726 173 175 The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

183 577 On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

175 171 114 In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than